2: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1943
FX14 Lovedu FX14

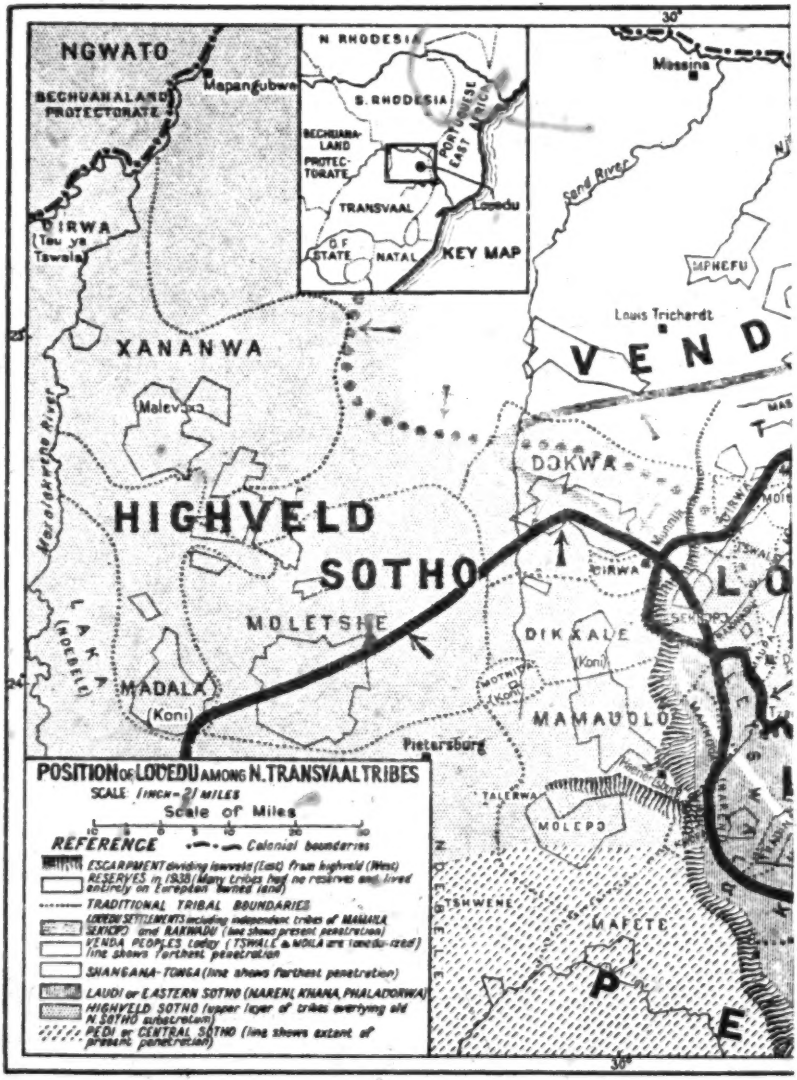
group there are many other groups, each with its own historical background, subtly linked up though it be with the royal background; secondly, great as the glory of the queens is, we must not fail to see their people in their true perspective against the masses of foreign tribes and against the stature of the European Colossus; and, thirdly, however greatly men rely for their sense of security upon ultimate values, their lives are immediately and predominantly concerned with very simple matters, with tilling the soil and caring for their cattle, with getting and preparing food, with securing shelter and warmth, with gossip at beer drinks and with petty domestic squabbles.

The Lovedu to-day are predominant in an area of some 5,000 square miles, the area of the Lovedu lowveld which is bounded by the Game Reserve, the escarpment, the Klein Letaba and the Olifants Rivers. On all sides of this area there are mightier peoples. Shangana-Tonga to the east. Pedi to the south, Venda to the north and several highveld tribes to the west—all these overshadow the people of Mujaji in numbers, in organization, and in power. But within the Lovedu lowveld, if we count all branches of the Lovedu, the subjects under them (about 50,000) outnumber the rest of the Sotho-speaking tribes put together (some 40,000). There are in addition many people (perhaps 25,000) under Shangana-Tonga chiefs, and in the eyes of the European one of them has far greater stature than Mujaji.

The Lovedu live in a location marked out in the early 1890's, immediately after the advent of European settlers and the conflicts that resulted. The original location, just short of seventy square miles, was enlarged during the 1930's by the purchase of tribal farms, and now the whole reserve is about 150 square miles in extent. This falls far short of the 600 square miles within which Mujaji used to exercise effective jurisdiction. She held the area between the Moketsi, the Great Letaba and the Mulodozi Rivers, from where the latter joins the Great Letaba at its northernmost bend, and from there westwards to the Moketsi; beyond it for another 400 square miles, but rather indefinitely towards the north, north-east, and east, where the population was sparse, Mujaji's writ ran, through uncertainly and spasmodically.

The population of the reserve we estimate at 33,000, which is considerably in excess of the official census figure for 1936.[1] The average

[1] Official census figures for 1936 are available, not for the Lovedu reserve, but only for two separate units of areas: (*a*) the Lovedu location and (*b*) an area to the north of it, about half of which falls within the Lovedu reserve. For (*a*) the figures are 11,636 and for (*b*) 7,205. If we assume that half of the population of (*b*) falls within the Lovedu reserve, its total population would be 15,238, or only about 46 per cent of our estimate of 33,000. We arrive at our figure from three sources: (1) Kraal-to-kraal countings in three sample districts with a total area of 14·5 square miles and a total population of 3,500. These districts represent different localities, some valley, some hill, and constitute a fair sample. On the basis of the average density of population in them, the total figure for the Lovedu reserve of 150 square miles should be $150 \div 14{\cdot}5 \times 3{,}500$, or 36,207. (2) The proportion of people who, according to Native accounts, our own impressions, and independent European eye-witnesses, escaped official enumeration. Despite instructions that the people of each district should collect in their respective districts, the enumerators, finding the districts inaccessible by road


NGWATO
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
Mapangubwe
N. RHODESIA
S. RHODESIA
BECHUANA-LAND PROTEC-TORATE
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
TRANSVAAL
Louedu
O.F. STATE
NATAL
KEY MAP
Messina
Sand River
MPHEFU
Louis Trichardt
VEND
DIRWA (Tau ya Tswala)
XANANWA
Malevuzo
Mwaluhuvhe River
DOKWA
HIGHVELD SOTHO
DIRWA
MOLETSHE
DIKXALE (Koni)
LAKA (NDEBELE)
MADALA (Koni)
MAMAUDLO
Pietersburg
TALERWA
MOLEPO
TSHWENE
MAFETE
P
E
POSITION OF LOVEDU AMONG N. TRANSVAAL TRIBES
SCALE 1 INCH = 21 MILES
Scale of Miles
REFERENCE
Colonial boundaries
ESCARPMENT dividing lowveld (East) from highveld (West)
RESERVES in 1938 (Many tribes had no reserves and lived entirely on European owned land)
TRADITIONAL TRIBAL BOUNDARIES
LOVEDU SETTLEMENTS including independent tribes of MAHALA, SEKHOPO and RAKWADU (line shows present penetration)
VENDA PEOPLES today (TSHALE & MULA are Lovedu-ized) line shows furthest penetration
SHANGANA-TONGA (line shows furthest penetration)
LAUDI or E. ASTERN SOTHO (NARENI, KHANA, PHALADIRWA)
HIGHVELD SOTHO (upper layer of tribes overlying old N. SOTHO substratum)
PEDI or CENTRAL SOTHO (line shows extent of present penetration)

[End map A]

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DUKHALAGA or S. RHODESIA
NYAI
HLENGWE
GASALAND
TSHANKE
Limpopo River
Mzingwani River
Mzingwani Ref.
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
GAME RESERVE
LOVI
THOMOLO
LOCATION
Mulovedzi River
Olifants River
NKUNA

[End map B]

3: Krige E-5 (1928-1938)1938 FX14 Lovedu FX14
Thonga FT6
Venda FX19

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THE PLACE OF THE NORTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL SOTHO IN THE SOUTH BANTU COMPLEX

EILEEN JENSEN KRIGE

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THE Sotho of the North-Eastern Transvaal Lowveld occupy an area with fairly well-marked geographical boundaries. To the east, the Game Reserve, low-lying, unhealthy, very sparsely populated even in the old days, remains an effective barrier to contact with and further migrations from the Shangana-Tonga of Portuguese East Africa. South are the Olifants River and the towering Drakensberg range curving north-west then northwards to merge into the well-marked escarpment on the west dividing Lowveld from Highveld. On the north the Klein Letaba river roughly demarcates our area from the Venda and the Shangana-Tonga of the Knobnose Location. The Sotho-speaking Venda of Tswale and Moila, who fall well within this area, resemble in culture their Sotho-ized neighbours more than their own Venda kin to the north; but the Shangana-Tonga, who occupy most of the lower-lying eastern and north-eastern portion of the area and comprise at least one-third of its total population, are unassimilated strangers of different stock coming from the north-east and east. They have been entering since about 1840, usually in small bands, at first seeking the protection of and subjecting themselves to the Sotho owners of the land. On the arrival

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3: Krige E-5 (1928-1938)1938 FX14 Lovedu FX14
Venda FX14
Thonga FT6
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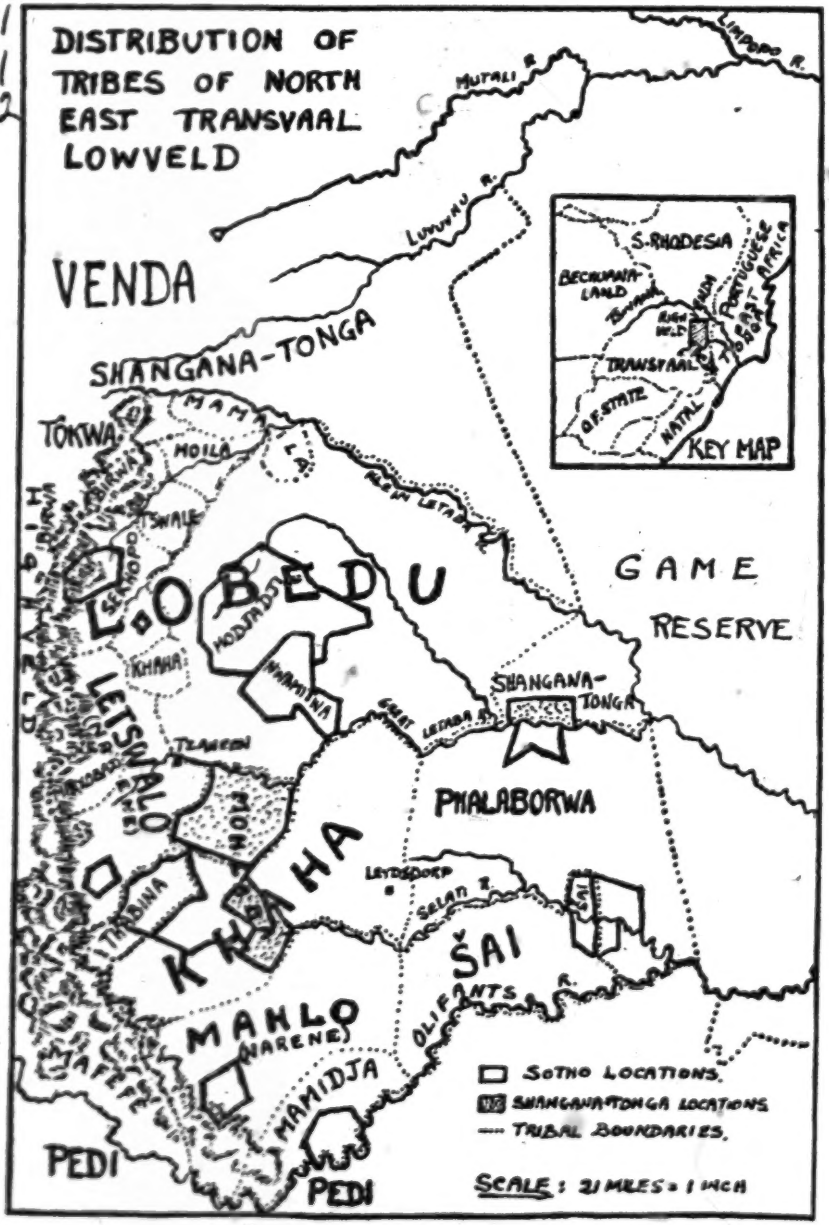

5;Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

PROPERTY, CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, AND THE FAMILY CYCLE AMONG THE LOBEDU[1]

Eileen Jensen Krige

THE Lobedu are a South Bantu people characterized by the institution of 'divine kingship'. They live in a mountainous area of the North-eastern Transvaal lowveld. Originally from *Bokhalaga* (S. Rhodesia), they migrated south when the empire of Monomotapa broke up and established themselves as rulers over the sparse Sotho population they found in occupation. The rain-making powers of their queen, enhanced by the mystery and secrecy of her ritual seclusion, attracted many accretions from diverse tribal groups from surrounding areas who sought security and peace particularly during the period of unrest following the wars of Shaka, the Zulu, and the raids of Matabele and Swazi. For enemies feared to attack the Lobedu queen lest they be visited by drought and locusts. The descendants of the Lobedu proper therefore form only a small portion of the total population which, however, except for relatively recent Tsonga immigrants from Portuguese East Africa, is remarkably homogeneous in culture. The Lobedu had no military traditions and built up their kingdom by peaceful means.

The form of government is that of a central authority with the queen as the head of state and spatially defined political

[1]The field-work on which this essay is based was carried out jointly with my husband, the late J. D. Krige, under the auspices of the International African Institute in 1936–8, and was supplemented and brought up to date by short field trips in 1961 and 1962.